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Lotte Jensen

»Drunken Swines«

The Representation of Westphalians in Dutch  
Literature from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth  
Century\*

One of the funniest caricatures of a German can be found in *De lotgevallen van Ferdinand Huyck* [*The adventures of Ferdinand Huyck*], a historical novel by Jacob van Lennep, published in 1840: it is Caspar Weinstübe, an immigrant from the region of Westphalia. He is the perfect stereotype of the German immigrant: he is clumsy, bad-mannered, and, as his name already indicates, he drinks all the time. He makes a complete fool of himself when he tries to mingle with the upper class circles. On a boat trip he tries to ingratiate himself with the well-mannered, wealthy Henriëtte Blaek:

»Wol de Jiffrouw nicht een klaasje nemen?« vroeg hij aan Henriëtte, die in stille aandacht de kust zat te beschouwen, die langzaam voorbijgleed: »ik kan 't wel anpefielen: ofschoon ik aan Plaek [=Lodewijk Blaek, host] kezegd ep, dat hij nicht aan 't peste gandoor iesch. Niet of die witwe Pieter Plutz en Soonen iesch ein gnappe fent; maar ie heeft keen koete gorrespondens: en wie wil er nou mienderen wein trinken, as men de peste kriegien kan? Da iest Peter Trauketropf, die hat koeten wein; und nicht meliert: – wel tierder, ja! – dat ist waar; aber was kan das schelen, wie tier die wein iest as tie maar goet iest? – fooral foor soon reike blitz als Plaek iest.«<sup>1</sup>

Obviously, Caspar Weinstübe is unable to utter a single intelligent phrase. The only thing he can talk about is the quality and the price of the wine his host has brought along for the boat trip.

\* I would like to thank Marguérite Corporaal for her useful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

1 »Missy, would you like a drink?« He asked Henriëtte who was quietly observing the coast slowly passing by: »I can really recommend it: although I have told Blaek [the host], that he isn't buying at the best dealer. The widower Pieter Plutz is a clever guy, but he doesn't have good connections: and then, who wants to drink wine of lesser quality, when you can get the best? There's Pieter Trauketropf, who sells good wine; and not blended: – it is more expensive, yes! – that's true; but what does the price of wine matter, when it's good? Especially for a rich fellow like Blaek«». JACOB VAN LENNEP: *Ferdinand Huyck*, Haarlem s. a., II, S. 32–33.

Van Lennep's sketch of this immigrant worker is in accordance with a large body of Dutch literary texts in which Westphalians are ridiculed for their unmannerliness, clumsiness and excessive drinking and eating habits. These characteristics were also attributed to people from other German regions and derive from a long European tradition of texts in which Germans are depicted as a voracious, dipsomaniacal and unmannered people. This image can be traced all the way back to Tacitus' *Germania* (98 A.D.), which was rediscovered around 1500 by humanist scholars, and then distributed throughout Europe through many editions and translations.<sup>2</sup> Tacitus describes the Germans as a hospitable people of great drinkers and brave warriors. Whereas he attributes several positive characteristics to the Germans, subsequent authors mainly used his description to render a negative image of the Germans. To mention just one example: in 1578 the humanist Justus Lipsius wrote to one of his friends:

»[Gaet ghy] Nae Duytschland? sie daer slemperyen en dronckenschap. Welcke ghebreecken ick wel weet dat sy verschoonen, en noemense valscheijck beleeftheydt, getrouwigheydt, deftigheydt en vrolickheydt: maer ghy, vermijdtse; noch en laet die vleyende pest niet in u ad'ren sluypen, door den wint van een verkeert oordeel.«<sup>3</sup>

Another source for the widespread stereotype of the unmannered, drunken and voracious German was the climate theory, which claimed that the diversity among people was determined by differences in national climatic conditions. The characteristics attributed to Germans are part and parcel of the ideas about Northern people in general.<sup>4</sup> Logically, these characteristics would also apply to the Dutch, but Dutch authors interpreted the climate theory for their own ends. Thus, they depicted the Dutch people as brave, clever, courageous and honest, and made light of their supposed dipsomania.<sup>5</sup>

2 FRANZ KARL STANZEL: National character as literary stereotype. An analysis of the Image of the German in English Literature before 1800, in: *London German Studies* 1 (1980), S. 101–115, hier S. 103–104.

3 »You are going to Germany? Be wary of gluttony and drunkenness. I know they justify their own misbehaviour by wrongly calling it politeness, seemliness and cheerfulness: but please avoid them and don't allow their bad influence by misjudging them.« Quotation taken from a reprint of this letter in ANNA FRANK-VAN WESTRIENEN: *De Groote Tour. Tekening van de educatiereis der Nederlanders in de zeventiende eeuw*, Amsterdam 1983, S. 323.

4 STANZEL: National Character (s. Anm. 2), S. 110. On climate theory: WALDEMAR ZACHARASIEWICZ: *Die Klimatheorie in der englischen Literatur und Literaturkritik von der Mitte des 16. bis zum frühen 18. Jahrhundert*, Wien 1977.

5 MARIJKE MEIJER DREES: Holland en de Hollanders in de zeventiende-eeuwse beeldvorming, in: *Nederlandse letterkunde* 1 (1996), S. 57–70.

Research by, amongst others, F.K. Stanzel and G. Blaicher, has shown that the image of the unmannered, drunken and voracious German was derived from a long-standing literary tradition, rather than from actual experience.<sup>6</sup> This was the case for the majority of national stereotypes in the early modern period. In one of his studies on this topic, Stanzel states:

»Es muß daher angenommen werden, daß die den einzelnen Völkern zugeschriebenen Eigenschaften aus einem traditionellen Fundus, nämlich aus einer ethnographisch-literarischen Requisitenkammer für Nationalcharaktere stammen.«<sup>7</sup>

In this paper I will take a closer look at the Dutch image of one particular group of Germans: the Westphalians. I will discuss three case studies, two from the seventeenth and one from the nineteenth century: a farce by Isaac Vos, pamphlets about Bernard von Galen (Bishop of Münster) and *De lotgevallen van Ferdinand Huyck* by Jacob van Lennep. In the first two cases, I will argue that the representation of the Westphalians in these texts can indeed be traced back to the abovementioned literary tradition. But I intend to show that their representation was equally determined by current social and political issues. The third case is slightly different: Van Lennep's sketch clearly fits in a long tradition in which Germans are being portrayed as dipsomaniacal people. Interestingly enough he makes an effort to unmask this stereotype, but in this, he is only partly successful.

### 1 Klucht van de Mof [Farce of the Kraut] by Isaac Vos

Before discussing the first case, some preliminary remarks about immigration of foreigners, especially Germans, to the Dutch Republic are necessary. From 1600 onwards, the Dutch Republic witnessed a rapid increase of immigrants. German immigrants were the second largest group of immigrants settling in the Dutch Republic; only inhabitants of Brabant and Flanders came in larger numbers. Germans left their country mainly for economic reasons, but the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618 also led to an influx of political refugees. Most of these German immigrants settled in Amsterdam. Between 1601 and 1650 nearly 25,000 Germans were registered for intended marriages in Amsterdam; the total number of German immigrants during this pe-

6 STANZEL: National character (s. Anm. 2); GÜNTHER BLAICHER: *Das Deutschlandbild in der englischen Literatur*, Darmstadt 1992.

7 F.K. STANZEL: Das Nationalitätenschema in der Literatur und seine Entstehung zu Beginn der Neuzeit, in: *Erstartetes Denken. Studien zu Klischee, Stereotyp und Vorurteil in englischsprachiger Literatur*, hg. v. GÜNTHER BLAICHER, Tübingen 1987, S. 84–96, hier S. 85.

riod is estimated to be twice or even three times as high.<sup>8</sup> Most of the German immigrants came from Frisian-speaking or Low German (Niederdeutsch)-speaking areas, such as Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony, Rhineland and Westphalia.<sup>9</sup> Some of them stayed permanently in the Dutch Republic, while others only visited as seasonal workers, and helped to mow the grass and cut the peat. The temporal migrants were often called ›hannekemaaiers‹, in reference to their occupation as grass mowers.<sup>10</sup>

Contemporary literature reflects these demographical changes, which obviously had an impact on daily life in the Dutch Republic. Permanent German immigrants and temporary migrants were often ridiculed in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century farces, written by well-known playwrights such as Thomas Asselyn, Pieter Bernagie, Pieter Langendijk and Isaac Vos. Most plays were situated in Amsterdam and ridiculed the behaviour of Germans living there permanently.<sup>11</sup> Only a few plays dealt with the group of seasonal workers or ›hannekemaaiers‹. One of these in particular became very popular: *Klucht van de Mof* by the Amsterdam playwright Isaac Vos. It was published in 1644, reprinted many times and frequently staged at the Amsterdam Schouwburg during the seventeenth century.<sup>12</sup> The play is about three Westphalian ›hannekemaaiers‹, who travel to the Dutch Republic in order to make a living. They are extensively ridiculed for their uncivilised behaviour, foolishness, and eating and drinking habits. One of them, Jochim Bueleke, is completely obsessed with eating pork. When he arrives in Amsterdam, he tells about the horrible trip he has had. Before entering the track boat, he had eaten a nice piece of pork, but he got violently sick while aboard:

»Ick hed soo eyn hechtken stuck speck gevreten, ont al de lude  
Dit lachede oft se roosende dol weeren, ick vroochde en woorom,

8 On immigration in the Dutch Republic, see LEO NOORDEGRAAF: *Buitenlanders in de Republiek, Republiek tussen vorsten*; Oranje, opstand, vrijheid, geloof, hg. v. FROUKE WIERINGA und WIM BLOCKMANS, Zutphen 1984, S. 119–128. Especially on the immigration in Amsterdam, see ERIKA KUIJPERS: *Migrantenstad. Immigratie en sociale verhoudingen in 17e-eeuws Amsterdam*, Hilversum 2005.

9 In the first decades of the seventeenth century nearly two third of the total number of German immigrants came from these areas. See KUIJPERS: *Migrantenstad* (s. Anm. 8), S. 91–93, 112–113.

10 See LEO LUCASSEN: *Poeppen, knoeten, mieren en moffen*, in: *Vreemd gespuis*, hg. v. JAN ERIK DUBBELMAN und JAAP TANJA. Amsterdam 1987, S. 30–37, hier S. 30–31.

11 A survey of seventeenth and eighteenth-century farces about German immigrants and migrants can be found in LUCASSEN: *Poeppen, knoeten, mieren en moffen* (s. Anm. 10).

12 See LOTTE JENSEN: *Libben labben an eyn stucxken swijne vlees. Moffenbeeld bij de toneelschrijver Isaac Vos*, in: *Vooy's* 15 (1997), S. 22–28.

Dat weerste wol wijs worden seden se, kom

Man eyn luttick wyder in See, dat Speck moetter wedder oet.«<sup>13</sup>

He feels really sorry for himself, not because of his sickness, but because of the loss of this ›hubsch swijne vlees‹ (nice peace of meat). His two companions, Hans and Michel, are not one jot better: both are dead drunk all the time.

Jochim manages to find a job at a shoemaker's, and falls in love with his employer's daughter, Brechje. He tries to impress her by pretending to come from a rich family. At the same time he is reluctant to accept the consequences of marrying her:

»Ick moet me Hollantsk loeren, mit ons schaften oock beter wie hier [...] door steyt men oock nicht to libben  
Labben an eyn stucxke swijne vlees.«<sup>14</sup>

Brechje feels no affection for Jochim at all, and plays a trick on him. She lets him sleep in her father's bed. Jochim thinks that Brechje will come and get into bed with him, but it is her father who lays down beside him. He gives Jochim a severe beating and fires him. The lesson to be learned from all this: ›Soo moetment de moffen verleeren, Die 'er al te veel laten voorstaen, en ruycken niet in wat lant sy zijn.«<sup>15</sup>

The representation of the three migrant workers as unmannered, drunken folk partly goes back to the literary tradition started with Tacitus' *Germania*. Yet, there are also contemporary elements to be found in their representation. Jochim's excessive pork eating has everything to do with his local roots: Westphalia was well known for its pig farming. Pigs from this area were said to be extra tasteful, because they were not fattened up in boxes, but could range free in the open air.<sup>16</sup> The word ›swine‹ therefore became practically synonymous with an inhabitant of Westphalia. However, ›swine‹ also functioned as a term of abuse for persons who were associated with barbarism, dirt and immorality.<sup>17</sup> In this way Westphalian people automatically became associated with all kinds of negative characteristics.

13 »I had eaten a piece of bacon, and all the people were laughing as if they had gone crazy. I asked them why. ›You will soon find out‹, they said, ›if you goes farther at sea, the bacon must out again‹«. ISAAC VOS: *Klucht van de Mof*, Amsterdam 1660 [1644], S. A 2r.

14 »I will have to learn Dutch, in our country we eat better than here [...] No sucking on a piece of pork here.« VOS: *Klucht van de Mof* (s. Anm. 13), S. C2 1r.

15 »We have to teach those krauts a lesson, who are too proud of their own country, and do not even notice what country they are in.« VOS: *Klucht van de Mof* (s. Anm. 13), S. B3, 2r.

16 JENSEN: *Libben labben* (s. Anm. 12), S. 23.

17 See the entry ›zwijn‹ in: *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal* (internet version, 20/03/2007, wnt.int.nl).

## 2 Bernard von Galen, Bishop of Münster

The second case I would like to discuss is Christoph Bernard von Galen (1606–1678), who became Bishop of Münster in 1650. At first sight, the case of Von Galen has little to do with the migrant workers in the *Klucht van de Mof*. However, the migrants and the Bishop had their Westphalian background in common, and as a consequence, the same negative characteristics were attributed to Von Galen.

Von Galen twice made an attack on the Dutch Republic. The first time was in September 1665, when troops of the Bishop invaded the eastern provinces Overijssel and Drenthe. In short time Enschede, Oldenzaal and Ootmarsum were conquered. The Bishop was financially supported by King Charles II of England, but when his payments ceased, the Bishop had to concentrate his attacks on the more northern parts of the country. In April 1666 the Bishop had to withdraw all his troops, and under strong international political pressure peace was restored between Münster and the Dutch Republic. The second invasion took place in 1672, when the Bishop, in alliance with England, France and Cologne, invaded the eastern parts of the Dutch Republic. Von Galen was defeated in Groningen, and in 1674 a new peace treaty was signed. This left Von Galen with empty hands once again.<sup>18</sup>

During both wars many pamphlets were published in the Dutch Republic in which the Bishop was heavily lampooned for his actions.<sup>19</sup> Most of these pamphlets had a radical satirical character and were meant to paint the enemy in the blackest terms possible. Von Galen's German background as well as his Catholicism made him an easy target for ridicule. As for his Catholicism, a long list of terms of abuse can be compiled, in which his religious orientation is mentioned. He was, for instance, called an »onsaligen Myter-drager« (miserable / sinful Bishop), »Klooster-Mof« (monastery kraut) and »sinne-loosen Paap« (insane papist).<sup>20</sup> An even more powerful tool in the hands of authors, however, was his German, or more specifically, Westphalian background. His bellicose character was, for instance, explained with references

18 On Von Galen's political and military actions in the Dutch Republic, see WILHELM KOHL: Christoph Bernard von Galen. Politische Geschichte des Fürstbistums Münsters 1650–1678, Münster 1964, S. 189–206.

19 An inventory can be found in WILLEM PIETER CORNELIS KNUTTTEL: Catalogus van de pamflettenverzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek: 1549–1570, 's-Gravenhage s. a. The pamphlets about Von Galen are listed under the numbers 9177–9190 and 9402–9406.

20 These quotations are taken from ANONYMOUS: De geest van Barentje van Galen, anders Bisschop van Munster [...]. s.l. 1665, S. 10 (KNUTTTEL 9180) and ANONYMOUS: 't Gevonde Zegel, des Priors van Nimwegens-Zwijnen-orden by den Lant-Verrader Jan Muller, aengenome Pont-gast van den Munsterschen Bisschop [...]. s. l., 1666, S. B1 r. (KNUTTTEL, s. Anm. 19, 9405).

to his ancient German roots, and the influence of climate conditions in the northern countries:

»een slecht Vorst, oft Lant, sal meer na den oorlogh hijgen, als den geene die de noot daer toe niet en prangt, dit siet men in de Gotten, Wandalen, Cimbri, Sarmaten, Schyten, en andere Noordsche Volcken, die door het kout Climaet, onvruchtbare rotzen, weynigh vrucht-dragende landen, en daer uyt nootsakelijk ontsaende, geduurige armoede, alle Zuyder en Rijcker Volcken geduurigh hebben komen plagen, en veel-tijds overwonnen.«<sup>21</sup>

The continuity between the ancient German tribes (all of them mentioned in Tacitus' *Germania*) and Von Galen's belligerent behaviour is obviously taken for granted by this author.

Von Galen was also ridiculed for his eating and drinking habits. He was described as an edacious man, constantly eating pork and drinking litres of wine or beer in order to stay on his feet. Let me give two examples of the way the Bishop was portrayed. In the first one, Von Galen wants to offer his Catholic Spanish friends some golden chains, but the links turn out to be made of sausages. Before he can carry on with his speech, he first needs a stiff drink:

»Geeft Spanje goude keeten,  
Hong'righ houde ick van wat eeten,  
Als ick Worst voor schaeckels kies.  
[...]  
Meer wilde hij [=Von Galen] redineeren,  
Maer hy most syn keel eerst smeeren  
Met een pul van tachtig pondt.  
[...]  
Dus laet ons, naer behooren,  
BAERENDT in sijn dronck niet stooren,  
Maer wenschen hem een goede naght.«<sup>22</sup>

21 »A bad ruler or country will have a greater desire for war, then those who do not feel the necessity. One can see this among the Gots, Wamdales, Cimbri's, Sarmates, Scythians, and other Northern tribes who, due to a cold climate, infertile rocks, poor soils, which cause permanent poverty, have pestered the Southern, richer tribes, and conquered them many times«. ANONYMOUS: De intentie van den Heer Christoffel Bernard, Bisschop van Munster [...], Haarlem s. a. (KNUTTTEL, s. Anm. 19, 9177).

22 »Give Spain golden chains / I am hungry and would like to eat / Therefore I choose sausages as links [...]. He wanted to say more / But he had to wet his whistle / With a tankard of eighty pounds [...]. So let us be well-behaved / And let us not disturb Barend in his drinking / But wish him a good night«. ANONYMOUS: Een stichtelijk Nieuwe-Jaerslied Ter Eeren van den Eesel-moedighen Kristoffel Bae-

In the next example Mars, the god of War, is invited to join Von Galen's banquet:

»Vernoeghde Mars, ontrol uw oorlogsh-vanen,  
Tree Barent voor, die Munsters klooster-kranen  
Heeft uytgetapt, en al zijn kruycken vol,  
Zuyp nu als dol.  
En slinger in 't voght van rijnsche druiven  
[...]  
Voegh u ter dis, daar verckens en kappoenen  
Gaan in triomf om Stoffel [=Von Galen] te verzoenen  
Alwaar gy zult met Nonnen vrolijk zijn  
By speck, en wijn.  
't Is tijdt, hoogh tijdt uw lusten te verzaden,  
De zwynen, en kalckoenen zijn gebraden.  
[...]  
En Barent met de Krijgsgodt zuypt, en brast,  
By hem te gast«. <sup>23</sup>

Many other fragments can be added in which the drinking and eating habits of the Bishop are satirised. The abundant references to swine are, of course, no coincidence. As said before, he came from Westphalia. Consequently, the way he is depicted shows many similarities with the way the Westphalian ›hannekemaaiers‹ are represented in the farces of Vos. The comparison between Von Galen and a swine can also be seen in a painting, made in 1672 by the engraver and caricaturist Romeyn de Hooghe (1645–1708). If one turns the picture around, one sees the head of a swine instead of Von Galen (ill. 1a + 1b).

One of the funniest pamphlets shows the bishop backwards on a swine (ill. 2). He is dressed half as soldier, half as a Bishop. A swine is not a very effective mode of transportation, and sitting backwards will certainly not improve the matter, so all of this emphasises the Bishop's stupidity. He is accompanied by a servant, a monk, who is carrying ham, beer, and the Bible,

rendt van Gaelen, Bijtschaep tot Munster [...], 's-Gravenhage 1666, S. 3 r (KNUTTEL, s. Anm. 19, 9402).

- 23 »Satisfied Mars, unroll your flags of war / Go before Barent, who has emptied the taps of the Munster monastery / And filled his bottles / Come, booze like a mad-man / And swing in the juice from the Rhine grapes [...]. Sit down for the dinner, where pigs and roosters / Are being served to please Von Galen / There you will enjoy yourself with the nuns / With bacon and wine / It is time to satisfy your desires / The pigs and turkeys are roasted [...]. And Barent and the god of war, who is his guest, are boozing and binging«. ANONYMOUS: Triomfzang over de Heldendaden, en Victorien van den onoverwinnelijcken Ketter-dreyger Dne. Christophorus Bernardus à Galen Geestelijcke en Weereltlijcke Krijger, S. A3v. Published together with ANONYMOUS: 't Gevonde Zegel (s. Anm. 20).

while dragging two pigs along. In the motto Von Galen and his servant are compared to the Spanish Don Quijote and his clumsy servant Sancho Pancho. The situation is commented upon in the poem. His mode of transportation is extensively ridiculed, as well as the food supplies the servant is carrying for his master:

»Hy draaght de Keucken, Worst en Schink,  
Het Bier, en op sijn sijd een Flinck,  
Oock hanght een Boeck op sijnen Stuyt,  
Daar Preeckt hy staagh Oremus uyt.«

The poem ends like a prayer: »Dit was d'Oratie, en een jeder kreeg wat Worst / Wat Schincken en een Pater Noster op sijn Borst«. <sup>24</sup>

In short, the bishop is represented as warmongering, barbarous, foolish, bibulous and voracious. All these stereotypes can partly be traced back to the literary tradition and partly to the scientific tradition of climatological thinking. Many of these stereotypes were also attributed to German people in general. The Westphalian background, however, gives an extra impulse to some of these characteristics, because swine (with all their damning connotations) symbolised the inhabitants of Westphalia.

### 3 Unmasking the stereotype: Caspar Weinstübe in *Ferdinand Huyck* (1840)

The negative Dutch image of the Westphalians remained current for a long time. The stereotype can also be found in several eighteenth-century spectacular weeklies and farces, as has been shown by W. Ornée and L. Lucassen. <sup>25</sup> At this point I would like to return to the figure of Caspar Weinstübe in Van Lennep's novel *Ferdinand Huyck*. This mid-nineteenth-century caricature of the Westphalian immigrant shows how persistent the image was. However, Van Lennep deliberately tries to unmask the stereotype, in which he only partly succeeds.

*Ferdinand Huyck* is one of the few nineteenth-century historical novels set in the eighteenth-century. Authors usually preferred the Middle Ages or the seventeenth century, as they considered the eighteenth century a period of economical and moral decline in Dutch national history. Nevertheless, Van

- 24 »He's carrying the kitchen, sausage and ham, there's also a book on his back, from which he constantly says his prayer [...] This was the oration, and everybody received some sausage, ham and a pater noster.«. ANONYMOUS: Soo d' Ridder Don- quichot, met Sancho was verrees, soo moest 't den Bisschop, met sijn Brave Lijf- Knecht weese, s.l., s. a. (KNUTTEL, s. Anm. 19, 9189).

- 25 WILHEMUS ANTHONIE ORNÉE: De ›mof‹ in de Nederlandse blij- en kluchtspelen uit de 17<sup>e</sup> en 18<sup>e</sup> eeuw. Voordrachten gehouden voor de Gelderse leergangen te Arn- hem, Groningen 1970, S. 11–12; LUCASSEN: Poepen, knoeten, mieren en moffen (s. Anm. 10).

Lenneep obviously derived much pleasure from depicting eighteenth-century life. His book is filled with typical eighteenth-century characters such as the dandy (Reynhove), the hack (Lucas Holding), the religious fanatic (aunt Letje) and the libertine (Lodewijk Black). Terwey has shown that Van Lenneep made use of *De Hollandsche Spectator* (1731–1735) by Justus van Effen, while other characters seem to be inspired by the novels of Betje Wolff and Aagje Deken.<sup>26</sup> However, Van Lenneep's use of stereotypes is ambiguous. On the one hand he uses them to paint a familiar picture of the eighteenth century; on the other hand he is constantly trying to unmask these stereotypes. For instance, the dandy ends up being a very well-mannered man, the religious fanatic shows a tolerant side, and the hack decides to quit writing in order to find a more profitable way of making a living.

Caspar Weinstübe also goes through a radical change. In the end, he understands that he will never be accepted in upper-class circles. He decides to marry his kitchen maid, fathers several children, and gives them a proper education. These children all get proper jobs, and create the opportunity for own their children to climb the social ladder. So Weinstübe's grandchildren finally make his dream come true, as they gain good relationships with people of high esteem.<sup>27</sup>

The question arises: why did Van Lenneep systematically reverse stereotypes, including that of the Westphalian immigrant? I can think of two explanations. First, Van Lenneps tried to change the contemporary view of the eighteenth century by unmasking all kinds of stereotypes characteristic for this period. Second, the reversal of stereotypes is closely connected to one of the main themes of the novel: the relationship between appearance and reality, or fiction and fact. One can see this theme at the level of the contents of the novel, as well as at a more abstract level.

As for the contents of the novel, the main character, Ferdinand, gradually acquires the insight that he can never judge a person by appearances. Out of good will he helps a trouble-stricken gentleman and his daughter. However, this gentleman turns out to be a hard-headed criminal. Ferdinand then meets all sorts of criminal and immoral people. He tries to hide this from his father, a police officer, but he gets trapped into a web of lies. Everything turns out well in the end, but the message to the reader is obvious: appearances are deceiving. Never judge a person by appearances: he might be completely different from what one would assume at first sight. This is especially true for all the abovementioned stereotypical characters: the dandy turns out to be a decent man, the religious fanatic a tolerant person, and the drunken German a

26 TUS TERWEY: *Ferdinand Huyck en de Hollandsche Spectator*, in: *Taal en letteren I* (1891), S. 287–291.

27 VAN LENNEP: *Ferdinand Huyck* (s. Anm. 1), II, S. 322.

respectable citizen.<sup>28</sup> The main lesson that can be learned from this is that the world cannot simply be divided into good and bad persons. Good persons sometimes show unvirtuous behaviour, and there is a good side to every villain. The same lesson can be found in Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749), a novel Van Lenneep clearly was very much inspired by.<sup>29</sup>

Van Lenneep is also playing with the theme of appearance and reality on a more abstract level. This is clear from the many references to the make-belief world of novels in general. In the introduction Van Lenneep has two persons quarrel extensively about the relationship between fact and fiction in novels. One of them is Marie Stauffacher, who has the ambition to become a writer herself. She is extremely annoyed by the large number of improbable events in most present day novels. The other one, mr. »X«, replies: »ou trouvera-t-on le romanesque, si ce n'est dans les romans« (if one cannot find the romanesque in novels, where should we look for it then)? He continues: »I claim that many things that seem strange, coincidental or rare, happen in daily life. They would be called improbable if they would occur in a novel.«<sup>30</sup> Stauffacher admits that he has a point: »Le vrai peut quelque fois n'être pas vraisemblable« (the truth sometimes seems very unlikely). Nevertheless she strongly disapproves of novels which contain too many improbabilities. Ironically enough, it remains unclear whether Marie is the author of *Ferdinand Huyck*. And, even more ironically, the story of *Ferdinand Huyck* largely consists of improbabilities: it is an ongoing stream of unusual events and unlikely incidents. At one point, even one of the characters sighs: »this is a strange adventure [...] it seems like we're trapped in a novel«.<sup>31</sup> One of the most

28 The final chapter is very similar to the epilogue in *Sara Burgerhart* (1782) by Betje Wolff and Agatha Deken, one of the most popular novels in the eighteenth century. It is my impression that Van Lenneep is deliberately playing a (literary) game with this novel.

29 The similarities and differences between the abovementioned novels is extensively discussed in LOTTE JENSEN: *De verheerlijking van het verleden. Helden, literatuur en natievorming*, Nijmegen 2008.

30 »Ik beweer dat vele dingen, die ons in het dagelijksch leven gebeuren, zoo vreemd, toevallig of zonderbaar zijn, dat zij, in een roman vermeld, met den naam van onwaarschijnlijkheden zouden bestempeld worden.« VAN LENNEP: *Ferdinand Huyck* (s. Anm. 1), I, S. 13.

31 »'t Is een raar avontuur [...]. 't lijkt wel een roman«. VAN LENNEP, *Ferdinand Huyck* (s. Anm. 1), II, S. 180. For a poetical interpretation of these passages, see M.G. KEMPERINK, *Dat is waarachtig een roman. De lotgevallen van Ferdinand Huyck als verdediging van Jacob van Lenneps romanopvattingen*, in: *Wie veel leest heeft veel te verantwoorden. Opstellen over filologie en historische letterkunde aan geboden aan prof. Dr. F. Lulofs, hg.v. MARCEL M.H. BAX, K. IWEMA, J.M.J. SICKING*, Groningen 1980, S. 179–189, hier S. 184–185.



remarkable things in *Ferdinand Huyck* is, of course, the reversal of so many stereotypes, including Weinstübe's miraculous metamorphosis at the end.

Thus, at the heart of the novel lies the paradoxical nature of stereotypical images in general: they are not real, but at the same time they refer to some kind of reality, because turned upside down, they become even more unreal. The unmasking of the stereotypical image of the Westphalian immigrant illustrates this paradox: Caspar Weinstübe is an improbable character, because he is made up of clichés. Unmasking this stereotype, however, turns out to be a difficult or even an impossible task, because it leads to an ever greater improbability.

#### 4 Concluding remarks

Let me end this brief overview of the Dutch image of the Westphalians by pointing out three things. First, it is no coincidence that (negative) representations of Westphalians are abundantly present in satirical texts: both the farce by Vos and the pamphlets about Von Galen are of a satirical nature. Satire is, of course, one of the most powerful tools in criticizing certain persons, groups or practices in society, and automatically leads to the exaggeration of typical characteristics of these persons or groups.

Second, the farce by Vos and the pamphlets about Von Galen are clear examples of xenophobic thinking. They not only express hatred against foreigners, but, so it seems to me, also a fear of losing one's own identity. By extensively ridiculing the behaviour of the ›intruders‹ or ›others‹, the message is implicitly spread that the Dutch themselves are not like that. In other words, stereotypes tell as much about the observer as they do about the observed: ›auto-image‹ and ›hetero-image‹ are two sides of the same coin.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, one should always take the political and social circumstances into account when studying national stereotypes. Although national stereotypes are clearly rooted in a long-standing literary tradition, current issues often explain why they are used in a particular way, and at a particular time. National stereotypes seem to be used most frequently whenever people feel their identity is at stake. This might, for example, be the case when large groups of immigrants are settling in a country or during periods of war. One can still see this mechanism in today's world: the present-day political debates on Dutchness, double nationality, and loyalty are closely connected to the issue of immigration and integration.

Finally, Van Lennep's sketch of Caspar Weinstübe shows how persistent the negative image of the Westphalians was. In 1840 readers still immediately recognized the typical characteristics of this particular group of Germans.

32 Cf. JOEP LEERSSEN, *Echoes and images: reflections upon foreign space*, in: *Alterity, identity, image. Selves and others in society and scholarship*. Edited by RAYMOND CORBEY and JOEP LEERSSEN, Amsterdam/Atlanta 1991, S. 123–138.

Van Lennep's representation of the Westphalian immigrant also makes clear how difficult it is to change stereotypes. In his novel he tries to reverse the stereotypical image of the Westphalian immigrant: Weinstübe ends up as a person well integrated in Dutch society. Paradoxically enough this leads to an even greater improbability. Unmasking this stereotype thus turns out to be an impossible task, even if one has the power of an author to manipulate and create conflicting images.